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‘DIREKT AUS DEM KRIEG IN DIE LIEBE’: DEPICTIONS OF THE ‘HEIMATFRONT’ IN THE EARLY PROSE OF CLAIRE GOLL

CATHERINE SMALE

Abstract (English)

This article examines the early prose of Claire Goll (1890-1977), who spent the duration of the First World War in political exile in Switzerland. Focusing on the short story collection *Die Frauen erwachen* (1918) as well as Goll’s journalistic writing, the article explores how her engagement with contemporary Heimat discourse, and above all her depiction of the war-time ‘Heimatfront’, is linked to her pacifist stance. Analysis of Goll’s adaptation and transformation of conventional Heimat imagery can shed light on her criticism of the war and her condemnation of women’s support for it. Goll exposes the patriotic Heimat idyll as a social construct which is performed by men and women in an attempt to distract themselves from the reality of the conflict. She condemns the restrictive gender roles and the jingoistic, militarist culture with which the Heimat ideal is associated. Overall, the article argues that Goll seeks to develop an alternative understanding of Heimat as the foundation for a new, internationalist politics.

Abstract (German)

Dieser Aufsatz untersucht die frühen Prosatexte von Claire Goll (1890-1977), die während des Ersten Weltkriegs im politischen Exil in der Schweiz lebte. Der Aufsatz konzentriert sich auf die Erzählsammlung *Die Frauen erwachen* (1918) sowie auf Golls frühe publizistische Texte und analysiert die Verbindungen zwischen ihrer Auseinandersetzung mit dem Heimat-Diskurs, beziehungsweise ihrer Darstellung der sogenannten ‘Heimatfront’, und ihrer pazifistischen Einstellung zum Krieg. Eine Analyse von Golls literarischer Bearbeitung des konventionellen Heimat-Diskurses kann ihre Kritik am Krieg sowie an dessen Unterstützung unter Frauen erhellen. Goll entlarvt die Heimat-Idylle als ein soziales Konstrukt, das sowohl von Männern als auch von Frauen inszeniert wurde, um sich von der Realität des Krieges abzulenken. Goll kritisiert diese restriktiven, inszenierten Geschlechterrollen und bemängelt die mit Heimat verbundene, militaristische und nationalistische Kultur, die sie in ihrem Heimatland beobachtet. Insgesamt wird argumentiert, dass Goll versucht, ein alternatives Verständnis von Heimat als Grundlage einer neuen, internationalistischen Politik zu entwickeln.

Claire Goll's short story collection *Die Frauen erwachen* was published in 1918 by the Swiss publishing house Huber & Co.¹ Each story reveals, through an examination of failing relationships between men and women, the destructive effects of the First World War and the cult of militarism which had engulfed contemporary Germany. As the title suggests, many of the stories contain female figures who undergo an experience of socio-political awakening, realising that they have been seduced into condoning a dangerous form of nationalism and expressing their protest against the conflict in a decisive and sometimes violent manner. War is portrayed in these stories as the symptom of a brutally authoritarian society which inculcates blind faith in militarism among its citizens and upholds the ideal of male death in conflict as the ultimate form of sacrifice. Goll dedicates the collection to 'Allen Schwestern', thus evoking an implied female readership and basing the stories on a collective experience of wartime loss. However, as Sabine Werner-Birkenbach observes, she also 'implicates her "sisters", who made no attempt to oppose the slaughter'.² The texts have a potentially radical political impetus, illustrating the oppressive effects of a nationalistic, patriarchal order and thereby provoking the reader's desire to bring about change in society. Given Goll's anti-war stance and the apparent subversive potential of the texts, it is not surprising that the collection was banned in Germany at the time of its publication.³

Although Goll's writing has to date been the focus of a considerable amount of scholarship, partly due to her biographical and literary connection to the Expressionist poet Yvan Goll,⁴ her early prose has received surprisingly little critical attention. Most scholars read her work biographically, attempting to explain the writer's puzzling transformation in her attitude towards women, specifically her move from explicit advocacy of women's rights in her early work to a vehemently held belief in women's inferiority to men which she expressed in her later years.⁵ The resultant scholarship often tends, whether deliberately or not, to follow Goll's own negative pronouncements on her early work, classifying it as 'trivialer Kitsch' or

regarding it as containing ‘melodramatic gestures of protest’.⁶ In this chapter, I would like to adopt a different approach: by focusing thematically and contextually on Goll’s depiction of Heimat, I aim to shed light on how she engages critically with contemporary discourses about the First World War and women’s position in it. I examine how her work adapts conventional Heimat imagery in its engagement with gendered questions of guilt and responsibility, and I ask, in turn, how our understanding of the so-called ‘Heimatfront’ in this period can be developed through an encounter with Goll’s prose. It is my contention that she not only exposes the patriotic Heimat idyll as a fabricated illusion, but also challenges women to develop an alternative understanding of Heimat as the foundation for a new, internationalist politics.

Constructing the ‘Home Front’

In her recent study of war and gender in twentieth-century Germany, Karen Hagemann observes that the First World War had ‘far-reaching structural consequences’ regarding ‘the relationship between “front” and “homeland”’.⁷ Although almost all of the actual fighting took place on foreign soil, the homeland was regarded as a ‘second front’ or ‘Heimatfront’ – a term coined by German propaganda early in the war to denote the way in which civilians were now being mobilised to support the industrialised war effort.⁸ The ‘front’ and the ‘Heimatfront’ were conceptualised as two distinct spatial spheres, each with separate characteristics, yet they were united by the common purpose of securing the defence of the nation.

In patriotic writing of the period, sentimental Heimat images are frequently evoked in order to strengthen the idea that the German homeland is under threat and needs to be defended. In 1914, for example, Gertrud Bäumer, leader of the *Bund deutscher Frauenvereine*, published a pamphlet entitled ‘Der Krieg und die Frau’, which sought to garner support for the *Nationaler Frauendienst*, a national programme which coordinated opportunities for women to engage in

war work on the home front.⁹ In the pamphlet, Bäumer highlights the importance of Heimat for German troops:

[Man soll] nicht vergessen [...], wie sehr die Stimmung, in der unsere Truppen hinausgegangen sind, Maß und Höhe empfängt durch das, was ihnen die Heimat bedeutet: sie kämpfen für “Haus und Herd”, und je höher ihnen das Frauenwerk von Haus und Herd steht, desto wärmer und inniger ist die Heimatliebe, die der Vaterlandspflicht ihre Seele einhaucht.¹⁰

Bäumer’s conception of Heimat is typical of much contemporary patriotic writing, in that it synthesises local and national loyalties. The soldier’s morale is sustained by his personal connection to his home and family, and his role is to counter any external threat in order to return to a position of familial security within ‘the fatherland’ once the war is over. Thus, the local Heimat becomes a metaphor for the nation as a whole. The soldier is not simply defending his own family; he is also defending an imagined community of German people. Bäumer’s conception of Heimat is also defined according to spatially-determined gender roles: women are at the centre, sustaining the Heimat in anticipation of the men’s return, while the latter defend its periphery. Women’s role in wartime is thus understood as a public extension of the maternal and spousal duties which they would normally exercise in the private sphere; women are actively engaged in helping to shape the Heimat in a way which plays into fantasies about it being a safe, feminine space.

It is precisely these kinds of fantasies which Goll exposes and critiques in her short story collection. Women are frequently depicted as embodying a nostalgic Heimat ideal, particularly in the eyes of the male characters, yet this ideal almost always proves to be illusory. In ‘Der Urlaub’, for example, Goll recounts the story of a soldier struggling to process the

traumatic events which he has experienced. Returning from the front, he is greeted by his wife and child, and he is immediately struck by the sweetness of this homecoming: 'Er fuhr direkt aus dem Krieg in die Liebe'.¹¹ As the title of the story suggests, though, the soldier's respite from the war is only temporary. It soon becomes clear that he is suffering from shell-shock and experiencing terrifying, nightly visions of the trenches. These hallucinatory scenes intrude into the domestic idyll, drawing the violent action of the front line into the couple's bedroom and destroying any peace which he had hoped to find there (pp. 172-73). Although the woman repeatedly tries to ease her husband's anguish, he becomes increasingly provoked by the scenes of battle that he perceives, and the story ends with him lashing out, killing first his wife, then his child, and finally himself.

From the outset, Goll's story establishes the two distinct, gendered spheres of action, 'male' front and 'female' 'Heimatfront', identified by Elizabeth Boa and Rachel Palfreyman as typical of patriotic discourses during the First World War.¹² Initially, the home is portrayed, by means of free indirect style, from the point of view of the returning soldier, and it appears to offer him a protected space where he can forget about the horrors of trench warfare. The narrator's frequent references to nature and fertility lend the space a paradisiacal quality that is enhanced by its overriding sense of 'Ewigkeit' (p. 171).¹³ As his hallucinatory visions progress, the apparent security of the home is interrupted by his reliving of his memories of the war: 'In seinen Augen stand eine ganze Schlacht. Das Zimmer bebte, die Wände schütterten' (p. 172). In fact, the soldier's presence in the home seems to have a chilling effect, and his wife becomes aware that 'der Krieg lag mit ihr im Bett' (p. 173). Ultimately, when the husband becomes violent and kills his wife, child and himself, he does so in the belief that he is fighting a terrible and immediate danger: his apparently aggressive actions are actually defensive in intention. The imagined external threat is thus relocated to within the boundaries of the home, as he

recreates and paradoxically ‘becomes’ the very danger from which he has sought to protect his family.¹⁴

While ‘Der Urlaub’ explores the destruction of a domestic idyll on the ‘Heimatfront’, the story entitled ‘Schwester Libella’ is set in a field hospital just behind the front line. In this text, Goll explores the actions of a theatre nurse who disobeys the orders of the army surgeon, risking court martial, in order to save the life of a wounded soldier who had been deemed too badly injured to receive an operation. The eponymous protagonist is perceived by the wounded soldiers as representing a lost Heimat, evoking in their imagination the scent of ‘Sommer’ and ‘Bergsee’ (p. 186). The nurse’s presence has the effect of transporting the soldiers away from the conflict, both spatially and temporally, so that they are able, in their minds, to inhabit the lost Heimat of their youth: ‘Jeder Kranke, über dem ihre Sternaugen aufgingen, begann zu lächeln, ein schüchternes, vergessenes Lächeln aus der Knabenzeit. Ihre weichen Worte schmelzten die von Qual verschütteten Züge, so daß das frühere Gesicht zum Vorschein kam’ (p. 186). The nurse assumes a maternal role, like ‘die Mutter neben ihrer Kinderkrankheit’, and the description of her starry eyes (‘Sternaugen’) evokes an image of the Virgin Mary,¹⁵ a link which is further strengthened through a reference to her ‘marienhaftes Gesicht’ (p. 186).

The idealisation of the nurse as a maternal or Marian figure was common in the art and literature of the period,¹⁶ and Goll seems here to be evoking a popular belief in women’s restorative influence on men.¹⁷ The nurse’s capacity to heal the wounded soldiers is contrasted with the brutal and dehumanising way in which they are treated at the hands of the army surgeon. Whereas the surgeon objectifies the soldiers, treating them as medical cases rather than sentient individuals (p. 187), Schwester Libella responds to their suffering with empathy and compassion. In fact, Goll highlights a discrepancy between the ‘Maske der Gleichgültigkeit’ (p. 186) which the nurse is forced to wear in the presence of the surgeon, and her inner reactions to the suffering she sees her around her: ‘Schwester Libella weinte nach

innen. Ihr ganzes Herz war in Auflehnung gegen diesen entmenschten Fleischer' (p. 188). Though she conforms externally to the demands of the surgeon, she experiences 'lautlose[r] Widerstand' towards him (p. 188). Her final rebellion occurs when she can no longer ignore her emotional reactions to the men's pain: flagrantly disobeying orders, she rescues the injured man, saving him from almost-certain death and, in doing so, protesting against the brutally authoritarian system represented by the surgeon. The nurse's actions assert individual conscience over the commands of her military superiors, strengthening the connection between Heimat, femininity and humane action, and revealing the triumph of 'Liebe' over barbarism (p. 193).

PERFORMING HEIMAT

Many of the stories in Goll's collection portray the traditional Heimat idyll as a fragile performance enacted by the characters, either in an attempt to create a sense of normality in the face of conflict, or to distract themselves from the reality of the war around them.¹⁸ In 'Der Urlaub', the narrator highlights the fleeting sense of happiness felt by the husband and wife by observing that they '*spielten* Leben und vergaßen ganz, daß sie zwischen zwei Toden hingen' (p. 171, my italics). Their enactment of an idealised version of domestic life—signalled here by the verb 'spielen'—distracts them from the dark reality of the fighting the husband has experienced and to which he is due to return. Similarly, in 'Die Wachshand', the wounded soldier and his wife attempt to perform an idyllic scene of homecoming, engaging in 'das Gespräch eines freudigen Wiedersehens' (p. 151). From the outset, however, the narrator reveals a discrepancy between the woman's apparent warm friendliness and her inner revulsion towards her husband, particularly her hatred of his newly acquired prosthetic limb: 'Die Frau zitterte, wenn sie an eine zufällige Berührung mit [der Hand] dachte. [...] [Sie] sammelte und verbarg sich in einem Lächeln, das warm sein sollte' (p. 151). The use of the modal verb

‘sollen’ casts an element of doubt on the credibility of the woman’s body language and draws attention to the inherent instability in the performance itself, which might be undone by her body involuntarily revealing the hidden emotions which she has tried to suppress.

As the story progresses, the woman’s resentment intensifies. First, she criticises the one-dimensional roles into which women have been forced as a result of the war: they are either ‘zitternde Mütter, die schon alles verloren haben und darauf warten, daß man den letzten ihrer Söhne [...] von ihnen fordere’ or ‘Bräute, denen man mit dem Geliebten die Zukunft stiehlt und das Leben zerbricht’ (p. 152). These descriptions reference contemporary propagandist images of women patiently waiting at home as their husbands and sons go off to battle, yet here Goll evokes the images precisely in order to critique them. The protagonist realises that these clichéd, female roles have, in fact, been constructed by patriotic rhetoric, which she regards as dangerously nonsensical:

Wie sie es heimlich verachtete, dies sinnlose Märtyrertum, dies ehrlose Heldentum, das darin bestand, Menschen ins Unglück zu stürzen [...]. Die blinde Massenunterwerfung unter die verbrauchte patriotische Forderung, deren Unsinn viele wie sie erkannten. [...] Die würdelose Hingabe des Menschentums für die Uniform [...]. Sterben für vererbte Formeln, Phrasen und Schlagwörter, mit denen man gedankenlos aufwuchs! (p. 152)

At stake here is a patriotic narrative of heroism which demands blind obedience and sacrifice from German citizens and is cultivated, from childhood on, through the idealisation of military uniforms and unreflective willingness to obey commands and slogans. While Goll’s protagonist outwardly abides by this narrative, conforming to traditional gender expectations, she secretly rejects it, realising that beneath the appealing surface of such patriotism lies a

dangerous disregard for human life. Reflecting on her own situation, the protagonist becomes aware that her conformity to this patriotic narrative is bound up with her subservience to patriarchal norms embodied by her husband: 'Sie hatte immer die Tür hinter sich zugemacht, und wenn sie zu ihm trat, blieb die eigentliche Ines, die, von der er nichts wußte, draußen. Sie hatte sich immer unterdrückt für ihn' (p. 152). The role of loving wife and successful homemaker is one that she takes on whenever she is in her husband's presence, but doing so forces her to conceal and suppress her 'authentic' self.

When the protagonist decides to confront her husband, she realises that her subservience has made her complicit in the killing which he carried out, and she regrets that she did not prevent him from going off to fight: 'Warum hatte sie ihn [in den Krieg] gehen lassen? Warum hatten sich nicht alle Frauen vor die Züge geworfen? [...] Warum hatten sie sich nicht früher geeinigt, sie, die Mütter aller Menschen, zum Widerstand?' (p. 156) This barrage of rhetorical questions moves rapidly from an expression of personal regret to a sense of universal responsibility for the war. Goll draws here on a line of argument frequently used by writers in the female pacifist tradition: namely, the belief that women's capacity for motherhood and childbearing lends them an innate sense of the inherent value in life which results in an essential tendency towards pacifism.¹⁹ The protagonist continues:

Menschen, von uns geboren, macht man zu Opfern, und man nennt sie Helden, je raffinierter sie töten. Aber wir schwiegen. Man hat uns die zweifelhafte Ehre verweigert, in den Krieg zu ziehen, aber nicht ein einziges Mal machten wir von der viel größeren Ehre Gebrauch, gegen den Krieg zu ziehen. Wir schwiegen, wir schwiegen. Uns trifft der größere Teil der Verantwortung. (p. 157)

Here, the almost compulsive repetition of the phrase ‘wir schwiegen’ highlights what the protagonist regards as women’s failure to speak out against the war. Their silence functions as an external sign of conformity which conceals a more conflicted, internal position. It signals women’s apparently unquestioning performance of the role allocated to them by men; as the protagonist notes, they have led lives of ‘Duldung’ and ‘Passivität’, precisely because this is what has always been expected of them (p. 156). However, this tendency towards silence has led women to neglect taking on their more ‘natural’ role as the ‘Herz der Welt’, a role which would involve openly opposing conflict and reigning in ‘das kriegerische Wesen ihrer Männer’ (p. 156).

AN INTERNATIONALIST PERSPECTIVE

In an essay entitled ‘Die Stunde der Frauen’, published in the Expressionist, anti-war journal *Zeit-Echo* in 1917, Goll explores the question of female emancipation, lamenting the fact that women have, for centuries, been subjugated to men’s authority and calling on women to take responsibility for liberating themselves:

Wir Talentlosen, wir kleinen Statistinnen, die wir nie mitspielen durften auf der Bühne der Welt! Wann werden wir endlich nicht mehr Chor sein, der klagt, sondern einzeln auftreten im Leben? [...] Wo bleibt unsere Revolution? Wann werden wir die ersten Fenster der Tyrannei einwerfen mit den steinernen Worten der Selbstbefreiung und Menschwerdung? (p. 11)

The extended metaphor of acting is used here to indicate that women have always played a subsidiary role in the ‘theatre of the world’; like the chorus in a Greek tragedy, they comment on and lament the events which take place, but do not step in to alter them. Rather than simply

standing by, women must now act against the 'brutalen Mimen der Gewalt' and use their 'steinernen Worte' as weapons against the tyranny they witness (p. 11).²⁰

As the essay progresses, Goll outlines in more detail the task facing women, urging them to discover their hitherto unknown strength and develop a new way of being in the world:

Jede einzelne darf nicht länger die Geliebte des Mannes, sie muß die Geliebte der Menschheit, der Welt sein. Nicht die Mutter einiger Menschen, die Mutter aller Menschen. [...] Wir müssen eine ganz neue Stellung der Welt und dem Mann gegenüber erwerben. Wir müssen uns unsrer Kraft bewußt werden. Der Mann kennt uns noch nicht. (p. 12)

In this passage, Goll seems to be alluding to the way in which the leaders of the *Bund deutscher Frauenvereine* frequently called on women to become 'mothers of the nation' by exercising in the public sphere the maternal duties which they would usually carry out in the home: in practice, this usually entailed undertaking social work and philanthropic activities, as well as actively campaigning for welfare reform.²¹ Here, though, the appeal has a universal dimension which resonates more with the pacifist internationalism put forward by radical feminists in Germany such as Anita Augspurg and Lida Gustava Heymann.²² Entreating women to become 'mothers of the world',²³ Goll suggests that they should work together to create a world without distinct nationalities or borders: 'Nicht mehr dem Staat, der Begrenzung, dürfen wir gebären, sondern der Welt, der Liebe, dem Geist' (p. 12). The implication is that national boundaries impede the task of creating a global society in which all people can live alongside each other without conflict; they create artificial divisions between people which stand in the way of them coming together as a community.

This questioning of the value of national boundaries and a belief in social transformation is present in 'Die Wachshand', as the protagonist asserts her conviction that

artificial divisions between humans should be overcome. She criticises the ‘Vaterland’ ideal upheld by her husband, suggesting that it is simply an illusion, a result of men’s desire to create boundaries between countries and wage war on other groups of people (p. 156). She and other women in her position have looked on while unnecessary divisions are created between their sons: ‘Anstatt alle Söhne zu Brüdern zu erziehen, duldeten sie, daß man sie teilte in Freund und Feind’ (p. 156). For the protagonist, women have a responsibility to teach their children to reject aggressive nationalism and instead work towards building a society in which national affiliations are no longer relevant. Above all, Goll’s text suggests that the creation of a more cosmopolitan society does not entail a complete rejection of one’s attachment to a Heimat ideal; rather, it involves transferring this sense of attachment from a very specific geographical place onto a broader, more universal space. One’s fundamental connection to a specific locality or nation thereby becomes the basis for a connection to the world as a whole.²⁴

CONCLUSION

Karen Hagemann argues that it is impossible to understand fully ‘the relationship between “home” and “front”’ unless one takes into account the role of gender ‘as a central “socio-cultural category” of historical analysis’.²⁵ An examination of Goll’s early prose sheds light on both of these issues and reveals the two to be inextricably linked. The depiction of the home front in *Die Frauen erwachen* draws on apparently conventional Heimat imagery, revealing how women supposedly embody a safe, secure home environment in the eyes of their male relatives. Yet this apparent stability is also portrayed as a construct, part of a performance of gender roles determined by patriarchal norms and patriotic loyalty. This performance is shown to inhibit women, constraining them to the side-lines and preventing them from acting as a positive force in the world. Goll counters this narrow, restrictive vision of Heimat with an alternative understanding of the concept which offers women the opportunity to play an

important part in shaping the future direction of society. This alternative vision is influenced by internationalist principles: according to this understanding, affiliation to a local or national Heimat provides the basis for a new relationship with the world as a whole, one unfettered by divisions and national boundaries.

Critics have often commented on Goll's troubling reproduction of certain gender stereotypes, noting that the female characters are one-dimensional and therefore cannot be construed as 'Identifikationsfiguren' for the reader.²⁶ Although Goll does, to some extent, deconstruct these gender roles, exposing them as socially constructed and performative, she nevertheless appears to affirm certain essential gender traits, for example by associating men with reason and women with feeling. This essentialism is consonant with the views held by many members of the bourgeois women's movement in this period, who understood men and women to demonstrate different, yet complementary gender characteristics. Goll's depiction of women's public role as being an extension of their private, domestic role echoes the maternalist emphasis of this movement in its advocacy of women's rights. However, her internationalist perspective clearly goes against the patriotic, nationalist stance of the bourgeois women's movement, aligning her more with the views of certain radical German feminists such as Anita Augspurg and Lida Gustava Heymann.²⁷ Ultimately, Goll's short story collection can be read as a pacifist 'call to arms' which exposes and constructs the patriarchal and patriotic norms in society. Although the individual fates of the female protagonists in the stories are often bleak, with most committing suicide or dying at the end of the narrative, the collection challenges the reader to take on their mission, refashioning social norms and thereby investing in a more positive future for humanity.

¹ Goll spent the last two years of the war in Switzerland and wrote—under her first married name, Claire Studer—for Swiss newspapers such as the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, the *Internationaler Rundschau* and the *Freie Zeitung*. On Goll's journalistic writing, see Markus

Ender, “‘Uns trifft der größere Teil der Verantwortung’: Krieg und Gender in Claire Golls frühen literarischen und publizistischen Texten’, in *Der Krieg und die Frauen: Geschlecht und populäre Literatur im Ersten Weltkrieg*, ed. Aibe-Marlene Gerdes and Michael Fischer, Münster 2016, pp. 53-72.

2 Sabine Werner-Birkenbach, ‘Trends in Writing by Women, 1900-1933’, in *A History of Women’s Writing in Germany, Austria and Switzerland*, ed. Jo Catling, Cambridge 2000, pp. 128-45 (p. 138).

3 Hans-Otto Binder, ‘Zum Opfern bereit: Kriegsliteratur von Frauen’, in *Kriegserfahrungen: Studien zur Sozial- und Mentalitätsgeschichte des Ersten Weltkriegs*, ed. Gerhard Hirschfeld, Gerd Krumeich, Dieter Langewiesche and Hans-Peter Ullmann, Essen 1997, pp. 107-28 (p. 111).

4 See Christoph M. Pleiner, “*Du übstest mit mir das feuerfeste Lied*”: *Eros und Intertextualität bei Claire und Iwan Goll*, Frankfurt am Main 1999; Eric Robertson and Robert Vilain (eds), *Yvan Goll, Claire Goll: Texts and Contexts*, Amsterdam 1997; and Verena Mahlow, “*Die Liebe, die uns immer zur Hemmung wurde*”: *Weibliche Identitätsproblematik zwischen Expressionismus und Neuer Sachlichkeit am Beispiel der Prosa Claire Golls*, Frankfurt am Main 1996.

5 See Rodney Livingstone, ‘Eroticism and Feminism in the Writings of Claire Goll’, in *Yvan Goll – Claire Goll*, ed. Robertson and Vilain, pp. 175-88; and Magdalena Sutarzewicz, “‘Wir sind mindere Geschöpfe, gerade gut genug zur Unterordnung’ oder femininer Masochismus und Misogynie bei Claire Goll’, *Studia theodisca*, 15 (2008), 51-64.

6 Ender, “‘Uns trifft der größere Teil der Verantwortung’”, p. 54; and Livingstone, ‘Eroticism and Feminism in the Writings of Claire Goll’, p. 180.

7 Karen Hagemann, ‘Home/Front: The Military, Violence and Gender Relations in the Age of the World Wars’, in *Home/Front: The Military, War and Gender in Twentieth-Century Germany*, ed. Karen Hagemann and Stefanie Schüler-Springorum, Oxford 2002, pp. 1-31 (p. 7).

8 Hagemann, ‘Home/Front’, p. 8.

9 On the *Nationaler Frauendienst*, see Sabine Hering, *Die Kriegsgewinnlerinnen: Praxis und Ideologie der deutschen Frauenbewegung im Ersten Weltkrieg*, Pfaffenweiler 1990. On the mobilization of women, see Claudia Siebrecht, ‘Martial Spirit and Mobilization Myths: Bourgeois Women and the “Ideas of 1914” in Germany’, in *The Women’s Movement in Wartime: International Perspectives, 1914-19*, ed. Alison S. Fell and Ingrid Sharp, Basingstoke 2007, pp. 38-52.

10 Gertrud Bäumer, *Der Krieg und die Frau*, Stuttgart 1914, p. 11.

11 Claire Goll, *Der Gläserne Garten: Prosa von 1917-39*, ed. Barbara Glauert-Hesse, Berlin 1989, p. 170. Further references appear in the text.

12 Elizabeth Boa and Rachel Palfreyman, *Heimat – A German Dream. Regional Loyalties and National Identity in German Culture 1890-1990*, Oxford 2000, p. 3.

13 Peter Blickle, in his seminal study of the Heimat idea, suggests that ‘the element of innocence’ is one of ‘the basic qualities’ of Heimat. See P. Blickle, *Heimat: A Critical Theory of the German Idea of Homeland*, Rochester, NY 2002, p. 148. In Goll’s text, the nurse seems to embody, for the male soldiers, an age of innocence which has been lost as a result of the war. A similar sentiment is expressed in ‘Die Wachshand’, where the soldiers are described as ‘Kinder, um eine Kindheit betrogen’ (p. 152). I am grateful to Aysha Strachan for pointing out this connection between the two stories.

14 This collapse of spatial boundaries resonates with the suggestion made by Gunther Gebhart and others that, in the German cultural imagination, ‘der Krieg von einem Ereignis “da draußen” [...] zu einer Bedrohung für Leib und Innenraum der Nation umgearbeitet [wurde]’. See Gunther Gebhart, Oliver Geissler and Steffen Schröter, ‘Heimatdenken:

Konjekturen und Konturen', in *Heimat: Konturen und Konkunkturen eines umstrittenen Konzepts*, ed G. Gebhart, O. Geissler and S. Schröter, Bielefeld 2007, pp. 9-56 (p. 28).

15 In Christian iconography, Mary is frequently associated with stars, most commonly in reference to the 'crown of twelve stars' in Revelation 12:1 or in allusion to the Marian hymn 'Ave Maris Stella' ('Hail, Star of the Sea'). See Melissa R. Katz and Robert A. Orsi, *Divine Mirrors: The Virgin Mary in the Visual Arts*, Oxford 2001, p. 95.

16 See Bianca Schönberger, 'Motherly Heroines and Adventurous Girls: Red Cross Nurses and Women Army Auxiliaries in the First World War', in *Home/Front* ed. Hagemann and Schüler-Springorum, Oxford 2002, pp. 87-113 (p. 91)

17 Whereas Goll regards the figure of the nurse as quintessentially feminine, other contemporary writers have explored the more ambiguous gendering of the figure. As Ulrike Zitzlsperger points out in her contribution to this special [number-issue](#), both Adrienne Thomas and Vera Brittain explore the ways in which the task of caring for wounded soldiers opens up a fluid space between traditional masculine and feminine roles.

18 Caroline Bland's contribution to this special [number-issue](#) also highlights the relationship between Heimat and performance, arguing that Lena Christ and Clara Viebig both create 'a cultural performance of authenticity' which is central to their popularity as writers. Goll's writing differs from that of these authors, however, since it sheds a critical light on this performance, revealing it to be deceptive and misleading.

19 See the essays in *Frauen gegen den Krieg*, ed. Gisela Brinker-Gabler, Frankfurt am Main 1980.

20 Goll uses a similar metaphor in 'Die Wachshand', when the protagonist accuses her husband of murder: 'Hart warf sie die Steine der Worte nach ihm. [...] "Du bist ja ein Mörder!"' (p. 155).

21 See Christiane Eifert, 'Coming to Terms with the State: Maternalist Politics and the Development of the Welfare State in Germany', *Central European History*, 30/1 (1997), 25-47; Young-Sun Hong, 'The Contradictions of Modernization in the German Welfare State: Gender and the Politics of Welfare Reform in First World War Germany', *Social History*, 17 (1992), 251-70; and Ann Taylor Allen, *Feminism and Motherhood in Germany, 1800-1914*, New Brunswick, N.J. 1991, pp. 17-40.

22 See Regina Braker, 'Bertha von Suttner's Spiritual Daughters: The Feminist Pacifism of Anita Augspurg, Lida Gustava Heymann and Helene Stöcker at the International Congress of Women at the Hague, 1915', *Women's Studies International Forum*, 18/2 (1995), 103-11.

23 Goll's questioning of the traditional Heimat concept through her emphasis on maternal responsibility bears some similarity to Lola Landau's exploration of motherliness as offering a sense of belonging based on dynamic, value-oriented thinking rather than on a static set of cultural values. On Landau's writing, see Godela Weiss Sussex's contribution to this special [number-issue](#).

24 In this respect, Goll's writing resonates with that of Adrienne Thomas and Vera Brittain, who reject patriotic attachment to the fatherland and instead develop an increasingly internationalist perspective. On Thomas' and Brittain's internationalism, see Ulrike Zitzlsperger's contribution to this special [number-issue](#).

25 Hagemann, 'Home/Front', p. 31.

26 Markus Ender, "'Uns trifft der größere Teil der Verantwortung'", p. 67.

27 It is likely that Goll's internationalism was also influenced by the Expressionist circle in which she moved in Switzerland. On Yvan Goll's internationalism, for example, see Heike Schmidt, *Art mondial: Formen der Internationalität bei Yvan Goll*, Würzburg 1999.